Notes

Abbreviations

AGS  Archivo General de Simancas  
AHN  Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)  
ANTT  Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)  
ASVen  Archivio di Stato di Venezia  
BNL  Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon)  
BNM  Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid)  
STC  Short Title Catalogue

Prologue

3  AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fols 164–164v (7 Nov 1598).  
4  AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fols 171–171v (25 Nov 1598); the descriptive phrase “charlata calabrés” occurs throughout the Spanish documentation on the case, not just here.

In English, the word “charlatan” has two primary senses. The first (dating to the early seventeenth century) is of an itinerant huckster who sells medicines of dubious efficacy; he does so by attracting a crowd in the streets and volubly proclaiming the alleged virtues of his remedies. The second (dating to the early nineteenth century) is an abstraction of the first; it describes any self-proclaimed and self-promoting expert – whether medical or not. Thus, in English, “charlatan” could now be used to describe anyone from a medical quack to a mere impostor. The English word derives, via French, from the Italian “ciarlataano”. While in English “charlatan” originally seems not to have had the non-medical sense of the word, Italian had both senses by the fifteenth century. Castilian (the language of the ambassador’s report) also had both senses of “charlatán” very early (there is some debate about whether or not Spanish also adopted the word from Italian). In the case of the “Calabrian Charlatan”, it is clear from the context of the archival documents that those who used the term meant the more abstract sense of the word: impostor, not medical quack. Note however, that in both Italian and Spanish, “ciarlatano” (deriving from “ciarlare”) and “charlatán” (deriving from “charlar”) have the connotation of chatterer, someone who prattles on mindlessly. Thus one might reasonably infer that the “Calabrian Charlatan” was a very talkative fellow.

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5 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (New York: 1972), 21. In Braudel's work, as in much work from the French Annaliste school, history is as played out on three scales: first, long-term geological, climatological, and demographic processes which shape everything else; second, culture which plays an important but definitely secondary historical role; and third, specific events which, while they loom large to individuals, actually have little lasting impact.


8 Note that this is in stark contrast to scientific understanding, which seeks to eliminate detail through simplifying assumptions that generalize and abstract the real world. See Isaiah Berlin, “The Concept of Scientific History,” in *The Proper Study of Mankind: an Anthology of Essays* (New York: 1998), 17–58.

1 Sebastianism, Millenarianism, and Nationalism


3 As Habsburg Spain had taken on the defense of (western European) Christendom from the Protestant heretics and the Turkish infidels, Portugal had taken on the mission of taking Christianity to the rest of the world. For example, in *The Lusiads*, Camões describes Portugal’s King Sebastian as “sent by God to strike new terror into Moslem hearts and to win for the faith vast new regions of the earth”; Luis Vaz de Camões (Camoens), *The Lusiads*, trans. William C. Atkinson (Harmondsworth, England: 1952), 40 (Canto I, verse 6).

4 Michael Barkun has argued that “millenarian movements constitute, as it were, the artifacts of disaster;” such disasters can be natural, economic, social, political, or anything that severely disrupts the normal pattern of human lives. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven: 1974), 55–6.

5 Although, as it turns out, many of the most vocal Sebastianists were from the regular clergy.

7 Peter Worsley has suggested that, in cases where a society is making the transition from pre-modern to modern forms, a millenarian movement may mature into a modern nationalist movement. Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: a Study of “Cargo” Cults in Melanesia, 2nd ed. (New York: 1968), 254–6.

8 The name of the town varies in the literature: Alcazar, Alcazarquivir, Alcacer Quibir, El-Ksar el-Kebir; I use modern Morocco’s official transliteration of the Arabic.

9 Asilah in Arabic.

10 The internal politics of Morocco provided Sebastian with his excuse to invade. He had been invited to intervene in Morocco by Abd el-Malek’s nephew – Mulai Mohammed – who claimed for himself the right to rule Morocco. Abd el-Malek’s attempt to buy off the Portuguese reflected his wish to avoid unnecessarily stirring up the various tribal factions and finding himself in the midst of a civil war. See Bovill, Alcazar, 19–42.

11 This identification was later described by João de Castro, an anti-Spanish Portuguese rebel, as an effort on the part of the captured Portuguese noblemen to deter the Moors from searching further for Sebastian, thus affording him a better opportunity to escape. João de Castro, Discurso da vida do sempre bem vindo, et apparecido Rey Dom Sebastiam nosso senhor o Encuberto des do seu naçimêto tee o presente (Paris: 1602), 28v–29.

12 One of the perquisites of being a medieval or early modern soldier was the opportunity to loot the bodies of the vanquished foe of weapons, clothing, money, jewelry, etc. During the Reconquista, victorious armies traditionally allotted the three days following a battle for this purpose; see, e.g., Camões, Lusiads, 86 (Canto III, verse 53). Note that in addition to the 16,000 soldiers, there were approximately 10,000 non-combatant camp followers.

13 This was a contemporary allusion; Castro, Discurso, 6–6v, 12v.


15 See Alfonso Danvila y Burguero, Felipe II y la Sucesión de Portugal (Madrid: 1956).

16 After the restoration of Portuguese independence in 1640, Sebastianism lost its specifically anti-Spanish nature, but survived as a more general millenarian movement which promised social and economic salvation for the Portuguese people.

17 The viceroy Cristóvão de Moura, although Portuguese by birth, was Spanish by education and career. Moura was especially embarrassed by the credulity of his people; AHN, Estado, libro 76, fol. 3 ([20 Sep 1600]).

18 Quoted in Bovill, Alcazar, 157; also see footnote 2 on the same page which notes that this remark is generally attributed to the Irish Lord Tyrawley (this was James O’Hara, 1690–1773, who served as the English ambassador to Portugal from 1728 to 1741 and again in 1752). See also António Machado Pires, D. Sebastião e o Encuberto: Estudo e Antologia, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: 1982), 15. [Note continues . . .]
Note that “Don” is the Spanish honorific title equivalent to the English “Mister” which, during this period, was usually reserved for the upper classes; the same title in Portuguese is “Dom”. Throughout this work, “Don” is generally used for Spaniards and “Dom” for the Portuguese. Nonetheless, there are some exceptions. For instance, “Don Cristóvão de Moura” (see Chapter 4), was Portuguese by birth but Spanish by career and loyalties – hence, I have used the Spanish honorific with the Portuguese version of his name (in Spanish it would be “Cristóbal de Moura” and in English “Christopher of Moura”). In other cases (e.g., “Don Sebastian”) the usage of “Don” for a particular person is fairly well established in English.


21 “E perguntamo-nos ainda se, no contexto social da época, a promoção do sebastianismo, em última instância, crença de raiz popular, não foi, ao menos parcialmente, uma tentativa de índole política destinada a dinamizar, de algum modo, a comparticipação do povo nos objectivos da Restauração, de natureza claramente aristocrática.” Joel Serrão, *Do Sebastianismo ao Socialismo* (s.l.: 1983), 19.

22 One reason for this may be – as the anthropologist Peter Worsley argues in a very different setting – that, as a form of protest, millenarianism always eventually gives way to secular forms and the millenarian movement itself becomes marginal (Worsley, *Trumpet Shall Sound*, xliii). In the Portuguese case, if we consider Sebastianism during the period from 1580 to 1640 as a form of millenarian protest, the main objective (i.e., securing Portugal’s independence from Spain) was achieved. Its major goal accomplished, and with many former supporters focused on newly important secular concerns (such as securing their place in an independent Portugal), Sebastianism became increasingly marginal as a force in Portuguese society. Thus the shift that Serrão notes in Sebastianism may not be a matter of the aristocrats dropping a suddenly useless tool, but instead simply a shift in their attention to more important matters.


27 *Encubertismo* was the Portuguese popular belief in a warrior messiah known as *O Encuberto* – the Hidden One; see the section below on
“Millenarianism.” Note that the chronological borders between the different phases are not as abrupt as the dates make them appear. Also note that, except for Encubertismo, these are my labels; they are not standard in the Portuguese literature.

Richard Landes defines millenarianism as the belief that the “End of Time” is imminent and “that these final events will usher in a reign of Peace, Justice and Plenty here on Earth and that salvation for the Just will be collective and its rewards experienced while living in the flesh.” Richard Landes, “Lest the Millennium be fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE,” in The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven: 1988), 205–6.

29 Had the Portuguese formulated their aspirations in the philosophic language of the modern era – scientific progress, national sovereignty, and a democratic right to self-determination – Sebastianism would seem familiar; it would remind us of the anti-colonial rhetoric of the twentieth century.


31 For an argument that such movements were in fact anachronisms (and for other examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), see E. J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries (New York: 1959).

32 Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: 1971), 415–22. Thomas also briefly discusses the short-lived English parallel of Sebastianism in the late-sixteenth-century belief that Edward VI had not died and would return to save England from the Papists (and from those Anglicans who were not Puritan enough).

33 This legend was also applied to Barbarossa’s grandson Frederick II, see Robert E. Lerner, “Frederick II, Alive, Aloft, and Allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite Eschatology,” in The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven: 1988), 359–84.


35 For other northern European examples, see Cohn, Pursuit.


37 Or, as in the case of Sebastianism, the hero did return but failed to accomplish his mission. In 1584, 1585, 1595, and 1598 different men claiming to be King Sebastian appeared and gained a following; however, they were arrested by the Spanish before they could even begin to free the Portuguese from Spanish rule. In these cases and continuing into the nineteenth century, many Portuguese retained their belief in Sebastian-
ism in spite of its repeated disappointments. For a survey of the course of Sebastianism, see the classic account: J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *A evolução do Sebastianismo*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: 1947).

38 One modern study argues that failure of prophecy often results in even more fervent belief in the group of core believers; Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: a Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (Minneapolis: 1956).

39 Several nineteenth-century Portuguese scholars saw a close connection between the legends of King Arthur and King Sebastian. However, this is not much emphasized in more recent works which tend to feature, instead, the millenarian Christian roots. See, J. P. Oliveira Martins, “O Sebastianismo,” in *História de Portugal*, vol. 2, book 4 (Lisbon: 1879; 11th ed. 1927), 80; for a more detailed look at the Celtic origins of Portuguese popular beliefs and customs, see Teófilo Braga, *O povo português nos seus costumes, crenças e tradições*, 2 vols (Lisbon: 1885).


41 José Veiga Torres, “O tempo colectivo progressivo e a contestação sebastianista,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 6 (1984): 223–58. Note that Torres does not argue that the sophisticated and abstract notions in Joachim’s writings became part of popular messianic movements in their original, pure, and intellectual forms. Like many ideas that are taken out of their original context, Joachim’s were changed and distorted by confusion, incomplete understanding, ignorance, conflation with other ideas, and reinterpretation to fit local circumstances. Nonetheless, an influential core of Joachim’s thought can be found in later millenarian movements, including Sebastianism.

42 Joachim of Fiore divided history into three ages, following the Trinitarian nature of the Godhead: the Age of the Father, the Age of the Son, and the Age of the Spirit. Each age lasted 42 generations (counted with Biblical genealogy from Adam to Christ), with a vague transition period in between; this meant, for Joachim and his contemporaries, that the Age of the Spirit was imminent. See Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 16–27.

43 Torres, “O tempo colectivo”, 225. However, as Ottavia Niccoli has observed: “If God is the lord of history and of the cosmos, to seek in the *orribeli segnali* of nature and in the voices of the prophets signs of his judgment of human history becomes at once a scientific, political, and religious process.” Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy* (Princeton: 1990), xvi.

44 St. Isidore was the Visigothic Archbishop of Seville, ca. 570–636.

45 This was part of the *Germanias* revolt in Valencia from 1519 to 1528. See Ricardo García Cárcel, *Las Germanías de Valencia* (Barcelona: 1975), 95–9 (chronology), 132–9 (*El encubertismo*); García Cárcel notes that, following
the first man, at least four other men in Valencia took on the role of *El Encubierto*.


48 An isolated mountain village located in the province of Beira, about 40km north of Guarda.

49 *Bandarra* translates from Portuguese as loafer or idler.

50 A reputation for a “prodigious memory” may also have implied some connection to magical powers. If so, such a memory may have given Bandarra’s poems an aura of authority, whether religious or occult. See Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: 1966).

51 The New Christians were Portuguese and Spaniards of Jewish ancestry. Following their (often forcible) conversion to Christianity in the late-fifteenth century, they and their descendants had not been allowed to integrate fully into Iberian Christian society.

52 Trova LXXVIII, reprinted in Pires, *D. Sebastião*, 133:

> Um grão Leão se ergerá,  
> E dará grandes bramos:  
> Seus brados serão ouvidos,  
> E a todos asombrará;  
> Correrá, e morderá  
> E fará mui grandes damnos,  
> E nos Reinos Africanos  
> A todos sugeitará.


54 St. Sebastian’s day is 20 January.

55 “...aa mesma hora que lhes tinha dado seu filho vnigenito pera os liurar do catiueiro do Diabo; lhes deu hê Principe pera os liurar do de Castella.” Castro, *Discurso*, 4.

56 As José Veiga Torres describes it, Sebastianism is Joachimism nationalized. Torres, “O tempo colectivo,” 257.

57 “Discourse on the Life of the King Don Sebastian of Portugal.”

58 Castro, *Discurso*, 1 (title page), 2–3. Note that it is impossible to say what percentage or precisely which segments of the Portuguese population believed in Sebastianism. However, Castro was calling upon all Portuguese, of all three estates (presumably this was everyone born and raised in Portugal); also, as we shall see in later chapters, belief in Sebastianism was widespread enough to influence events.


60 “Viua, Viua a Patria, & os coraçõens generosos della, que nenhûa outra cousa respeitarem que seu Deos, seu Rey & sua honra: deixando a seus descendêtes o que lhes deixaram seus antepasados.” Castro, *Discurso*, 129v.
61 “...Vossas Merces sam Portugueses, tomarem resolução portuguesa pera com Rey Portugues. Lembrese bem que Rey, que ha de ser tam iuuenciel, não se surriá senão tambem de iuencielus.” Castro, Discurso, 130–130v.

62 “[Sebastião]... por uos ha, Senhores em fim em liberda.” Castro, Discurso, 130.


64 These were the King of Penamacor (1584) and the King of Ericeira (1585), named after the places where they first appeared. See Miguel d’Antas, Les Faux Don Sébastiens (Paris: 1866), book 2.

65 As Keith Thomas shows for England, there was a long European tradition of using ancient prophecies and popular beliefs for political purposes; see Thomas, Religion, 389–432.

66 Castro, Discurso, 43. Castro himself identified 1586 as the year of his first serious interest in the prophecies and rumors surrounding Sebastian; it may have been chosen to demonstrate his early Sebastianist convictions. Still, the date is plausible. Certainly Castro was interested by 1588 and had delved into the subject.

67 “...por toda a minha industria e vida em espertar Portugal por alguns me[i]jos, abrindolhe os olhos...” BNL, Codex 4389, “Discurso Falando com El Rey D. Sebastião” (Paris: 1588), 4.

68 The belief, shared with nationalists, was “that nations have existed from time immemorial, though often in prolonged slumber.” Hence, for them nations seemed to be natural units of political-social division, needing little explanation. Anthony D. Smith, National Identity (Reno: 1991), 43.

69 For a sampling of treatments of all these questions, see John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., Nationalism (Oxford: 1994).

70 As Eric Hobsbawm somewhat fancifully states: “[An intergalactic historian], after some study, will conclude that the last two centuries of the human history of planet Earth are incomprehensible without some understanding of the term ‘nation’ and the vocabulary derived from it. This term appears to express something important in human affairs. But what exactly?” Eric J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality (Cambridge: 1990), 1.

71 Students of nationalism can be roughly divided into two major groups; Gellner and Greenfeld are representative and will be the only ones discussed in any detail here. The first group (e.g., Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson) believes that nationalism is an absolutely modern phenomenon with origins in the economic and material changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. The second group (e.g., Liah Greenfeld, Anthony Smith, William Hutchinson) agrees that nationalism is primarily a modern phenomenon, but explains its origins in other ways.

Identities may be based on, *inter alia*, ancestry, ethnicity, occupation, religion, region, or village.


Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 3.

“In brief, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones…” Gellner, *Nations*, 1.

While it might be argued that the millenarian terms mark a fundamental difference between Sebastianism and nationalism, they really do not. Nationalists of all periods are quick to clothe their rhetoric in the language most effective at inspiring and mobilizing their “people”.

While Gellner does “not [deny] that the agrarian world occasionally threw up units which may have resembled a modern national state,” his theory says nothing about how they originated or how they “resembled” modern national states. Gellner, *Nations*, 138.


MacCaffrey notes that opposition to Mary was so widespread that, had she ascended the English throne, civil war would have been almost certain; MacCaffrey, *Making of Policy*, 445.


An interesting difference between Elizabeth and Castro is that Elizabeth’s actions in this case were probably meant to prevent the direct, active, and potentially destabilizing participation of the people in English politics. In contrast, Castro set out to actively draw them in, hoping to incite a widespread anti-Spanish rebellion in Portugal.


These relationships can be personal or abstract (for example, a person’s relationship with the state or the church). As Benedict Anderson notes,
many of the communities to which we belong are “imagined” in that the relationships between the members of the community are not built upon personal contact, but instead upon common experiences and outlooks; see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: 1991).

88 Most people find it difficult to switch on and off different facets of their identities, especially if these are implicitly in conflict. Each time a person invokes a specific facet of his identity, it becomes incrementally stronger. Psychologically, the person has made a commitment to that identity. Furthermore, if the commitment was public, social expectations and pressures reinforce the need to maintain the commitment and to behave consistently. Thus, each person builds up a legacy of the choices he has made and generally finds it difficult to escape that legacy.

89 Although national identity is sometimes expressed in non-territorial terms (for example, linguistic, ethnic, religious), each of these can be mapped into a well-defined territory. Note that the size of territory is irrelevant; it is possible to conceive of Venetian, Italian, and European nationalisms.

The nature of the link between nationalism and the state varies and divides nationalisms into two basic categories: unifying and divisive. Unifying nationalisms generally have a close link to an already established state; they can work on unifying multiple states into one (the German model, in which Prussia was the core) or merging multiple nationalities into one (the French model). A divisive nationalism seeks to separate the group it represents from a state in which it feels it has no stake and establish its own state (the Austro-Hungarian model, in which various nationalisms plagued the empire).

90 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

91 For how ordinary people did shape politics in this period, see Wayne te Brake, *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500–1700* (Berkeley, 1998).

92 In this context, consider the highjackings and suicide attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001. In the immediate aftermath, there was a widespread outpouring of American patriotism and increased national solidarity. Only time (and the course of subsequent events) will tell if these attacks helped create a generation of ‘Americans’ out of the various fragmented and bickering groups of hyphenated-Americans.


94 In Portuguese society Sebastianism behaved in just this way: it was a normally quiescent substratum of Portuguese culture that occasionally erupted during economic, social, or political crises.

95 For a collection of essays on nations as “chosen” people, see William R. Hutchison and Hartmut Lehmann, eds., *Many Are Chosen: Divine Election & Western Nationalism* (Minneapolis: 1994).

97 As in nationalist movements, a millenarian movement sometimes takes on a more active form and is led by a messianic figure (for example, in Münster during the Reformation). The difference is that the leader of this sort of movement is a kind of John the Baptist, charged with preparing for the arrival of the messiah, but unable in himself to usher in the new age.

98 Note that, like most categorizations of this type, the boundaries between the categories are not crisp; in any given period adjacent categories often overlap each other. Also note that why this transition occurred is beyond the scope of this study. Still, we can speculate that the Lutheran notion of “the priesthood of the believer” may have played an important role in this transition since it enabled individuals to act for themselves in religious matters, without having to seek the mediation of the Church – essentially an aspect of religious sovereignty was transferred from the Church to the individual Christian.

99 This is not always successful. Much of the history of nationalism is that of one nationality seeking to absorb, control, or destroy other nationalities.

100 Bernard Lewis points out that, in the Middle East, God is still sovereign and that this is why nationalism has constantly failed there: “In the secularization of the West, God was twice dethroned and replaced – as the source of sovereignty by the people, as the object of worship by the nation. Both of these ideas were alien to Islam . . .”. Bernard Lewis, What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response (Oxford, 2002), 106.

101 Although the nationalist sentiment is not new, modern forms of nationalism exist in a different context: first, nearly all politicians and other political activists are aware of national sentiments and actively seek to manipulate them; second, the modern technology of warfare is such that anyone can acquire the means for killing large numbers of people – thus allowing ever-smaller groups to demand sovereignty; and, third (acting somewhat in opposition to the second point), because of the speed and extent of modern communications, nations can be built from much larger groups of people.

2 The new chosen people

1 “He minha vêtade edificar sobre ti & sobre tua geração depois de ti, hú Imperio pera mim, pera que o meu nome seja leuado a gentes estranhas.” Afonso Henriques, “Copia do iuramento que El Rey Dom Afonso Henriquez primeiro Rey de Portugal, fez em Cortes no anno de mil & cento & cincoenta & dous sobre a visão que vio núa reuelação que teue no
For Luis in Campo de Ourique, estando pera pelejar com cinco Reys Mouros,” 133v; in João de Castro, Discurso da vida do sempre bem vindo, et apparecido Rey Dom Sebastiam nosso senhor o Encuberto des do seu naçimeto tee o presente (Paris: 1602), 131–135v. See the discussion below on the Battle of Ourique.

2 These were: 1. the King of Penamacor, 1584; 2. the King of Ericeira, 1585; 3. the Pastry-Maker of Madrigal, 1594–95; and, 4. the Calabrian charlatan, 1598–1603. On all four, see Miguel d’Antas, Les Faux Don Sébastiens (Paris: 1866); on the Pastry-Maker of Madrigal, see Mary Elizabeth Brooks, A King for Portugal: the Madrigal Conspiracy, 1594–95 (Madison: 1964).

3 “...que no a auido charlatan mas necio ni que tan sin fundamento se aya atreuido a semenjante chucarrera...” AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 164v (7 Nov 1598).

4 AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fols 164–4v (7 Nov 1598).


6 For example, the Portuguese scholar Jorge de Macedo notes that the Portuguese considered themselves “<escolhidos> para o extraordinário empreendimento do descoberta do caminho marítimo para a Índia;” see Jorge Borges de Macedo, Um Caso de Luta Pelo Poder e a Sua Interpretação n’<Os Lusíadas> (Lisbon: 1976), 13.

7 O Padrão dos Descobrimentos; located in Belém, near the Torre de Belém. While this monument was erected in the twentieth century and reflects a modern Portuguese sensibility of a glorious Portuguese past, it is an appropriate representation of a sixteenth-century Portuguese sensibility as well. One has only to read The Lusiads and other sixteenth-century Portuguese literature to confirm this.

8 Luis Vaz de Camões (Camoes), The Lusiads, trans. William C. Atkinson (Harmondsworth, England: 1952), 163–4 (Canto VII, verse 14). All references to The Lusiads will use this translated edition; however, canto and verse will be provided as well for those who wish to turn to the original Portuguese text.

9 “…there are… at least two histories: that of collective memory and that of historians. The first appears as essentially mythic, deformed, and anachronistic. But it constitutes the lived reality of the never-completed relation between present and past.” Jacques Le Goff, History and Memory (New York: 1992), 111. The history that we must deal with here is the “mythic, deformed, and anachronistic” history of the Portuguese of the late sixteenth century.

10 For the origins of this idea in western civilization, see Norman Cohn, Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come: the Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith (New Haven: 1993), esp. 143–4. In his fictionalized account of the popular movement at Canudos in Brazil in the 1890s (the last major manifestation of Sebastianism) and the resulting massacre, Mario Vargas Llosa made a similar point quite elegantly: “The Little Blessed One knows how to decipher the symbols, to interpret the secret message of
the coincidences, accidents, apparent happenstances that pass unnoticed by the others; he has powers of intuition that enable him to recognize instantly, beneath the innocent and the trivial, the deeply hidden presence of the beyond.” The War of the End of the World (Barcelona: 1981; English translation and reprint, New York: 1997), 509.

11 As early as the twelfth century the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore believed that scriptural exegesis “could be applied not simply for moral and dogmatic purposes but as a means of understanding and forecasting the development of history.” By the sixteenth century, scripture was not the only historical document so used. See Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (revised and expanded ed. New York: 1961), 108.


14 Macedo, Luta Pelo Poder, 11, 16–22.

15 See the discussion in the previous chapter of identity, national or otherwise, as the process of strengthening certain strands of identity and weakening others. Also, note that The Lusiads is simply used as a framework through which we can conveniently examine some of the anti-Spanish strands of sixteenth-century Portuguese identities.

16 This is not an argument that this was the dominant nature of Portuguese identity, only that these elements were present. For some individuals, political, economic, or social circumstances rendered these elements nearly irrelevant; for others, different circumstances placed these elements at the center of their identities.

17 Camoens does give some play to the legend that the Portuguese (the Lusitanians) descended from Lusus, son or companion of Bacchus; however, even for Camoens this is distant myth, not history. Camoens, Lusiads, 80 (Canto III, verse 21).

18 Also known as the Battle of Tours.

19 Asturias is a mountainous region on the north-central coast of Spain.

20 Most of the factual account of the Reconquista and medieval Portuguese history is drawn from the works of Derek W. Lomax, The Reconquest of Spain (London: 1978); H. V. Livermore, A History of Portugal (Cambridge: 1947); and, Alexandre Herculano, História de Portugal (Lisbon: 1846). Note that Lomax’s study has the virtue of being one of the few which includes the entire Iberian peninsula.

21 Thomas F. Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages (Princeton: 1979), 166. This term continues to be used in the twentieth century. During the Franco era, the law required people in Spain to speak in cristiano. However, in this case it did not encompass all of the Latin-based languages of Iberia, but was reduced to Castilian. See “Catalan Zeal,” Economist (20–26 September 1997): 54–5.

22 In Spanish, these rivers are the Miño and the Duero.
23 Tejo (Portuguese); Tajo (Spanish).
24 For the religious foundation of Portuguese society in the twelfth century, see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, Estado, Pátria e Nação (1080–1415), vol. 1, História de Portugal, 5th ed. (Lisbon: 1992), 215–16. More generally, note that many of the great noble houses of early modern Iberia owed their lands and power to the conquest of Muslim territory during this period – political power was built on Christianizing and repopulating the frontier; Bernard F. Reilly, The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157 (Oxford: 1992), 239–40.
25 This story led to the Portuguese reputation for loyalty to both their king and their honor which, in the sixteenth century, was considered a major feature of the Portuguese national character. For instance, while the Spanish ruled in Portugal, the Spanish viceroy repeatedly reassured King Philip III of the natural loyalty of the Portuguese people for their king. In one of his letters the viceroy wrote of “la fydelяд y amor cõque siguen a sus reyes” (the loyalty and love with which [the Portuguese] follow their kings); AHN, libro 77, fol. 1v (17 Jun [1600]).
26 Camoens, Lusiads, 83 (Canto III, verses 34). The supposed presence of the Castilians at Guimarães is even more striking when one considers that, following his account of this key battle, Camoens dropped the Castilians and returned to historical accuracy by naming the Leonese as the enemies of Afonso and Portugal; see Camoens, Lusiads, 88 (Canto III, verse 70). As one historian notes of the Balkans: “Nationalist violence knows no eternal enemy. The current enemy is always eternal.”; see Misha Glenny, The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers 1804–1999 (New York: 1999), 247.
28 Defeat could also be interpreted as a sign of divine favor. For instance, one anti-Spanish propagandist argued in 1602 that with the Spanish annexation of Portugal in 1580, God was obviously punishing the Portuguese in order to instruct them; in fact, God had always chosen the weak to serve His purposes. Castro, Discurso, 30v–33.
29 Cf. Constantine’s vision of the cross prior to his victory in battle.
30 Camoens, Lusiads, 84–6 (Canto III, verses 42–52).
32 See the discussion below on the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385.
33 António José Saraiva, O Crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal (Lisbon: 1990), 163–6. For a detailed look at the medieval sources of the legend of Ourique and the close connection to Castilian sources, see Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, “Sobre a formação e evolução da lenda de Ourique (até à Crónica de 1419),” in Miscelânea de estudos em honra do Prof. Hernâni Cidade (Lisbon: 1957), 168–215.
34 Camoens, Lusiads, 86 (Canto III, verses 53–4); for the 1419 version of this see Saraiva, Crepúsculo, 165; for a very early seventeenth-century version, see José Teixeira, Adventvre Admirable, par dessvs tovtes autrs des siecles passez & present (Paris: 1601), 39, 52–3.
36 For some early seventeenth-century examples, see Teixeira, *Adventure Admirable*, 36–40; also see Castro, *Discurso*, 131–5v.
37 See Teixeira, *Adventure Admirable*, 42–5, 53. Also, recall that the story claiming divine support for Afonso probably appeared in the late fourteenth century; however, even if the legend of the vision originated in Afonso’s time, the Portuguese king would have been unlikely to leave matters entirely in God’s hands and would have sought more worldly support as well; in any case, the choice of the Pope as feudal overlord was only appropriate for a divinely appointed king.
38 This was important during the succession crisis in 1580 (following Sebastian’s death) since it gave the anti-Spanish party in Portugal an acceptable reason to elect their own native Portuguese candidate: Dom António.
40 This desire to continue expanding at the expense of Islam extended well into the sixteenth century. For example, although opposed by some court factions, King Manuel I (reigned 1495–1521) had a “strong Messianic streak” and considered Portuguese expansion in Africa and Asia as a means of attacking Islam from the rear; see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: 1997), 54–7.
41 Camoens, *Lusiads*, 102 (Canto IV, verse 3).
43 Camoens, *Lusiads*, 104 (Canto IV, verse 13).
45 The town grew up around the Mosteiro da Batalha (Monastery of the Battle) built there by João in celebration of his victory at Aljubarrota. Following World War I, the Portuguese put that most nationalist of shrines, a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, in the chapterhouse.
46 Note that the legend of the Battle of Ourique was apparently concocted in this period, sometime before 1420.
47 The Algarve is the southernmost province of Portugal.
50 Camoens, *Lusiads*, 111 (Canto IV, verse 49).
51 This betrays an almost Calvinist sensibility about divine election. However, for the Portuguese the signs of election were collective, not individual.
53 As Diffie and Winius note of the empire: “the government of Portuguese Asia was notorious for its corruption.” *Foundations*, 419.
this was the famous grandfather of the João de Castro who figures so prominently in the history of the Calabrian Charlatan.

55 For instance, as early as the 1540s four of the Portuguese forts in Morocco were abandoned. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 282.

56 The Red Sea was a vital link for Muslim traders in the movement of spices from India to commercial centers in Egypt. This way only a short portion of the journey was overland, thus greatly reducing costs. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 415–8.

57 Camoens, *Lusiads*, 248 (Canto X, verse 150). For some Portuguese, the Spanish occupation in 1580 was interpreted as another such punishment; Castro, *Discurso*, 30v–33.


59 In 1572 Sebastian was only eighteen years old, but already he personified the prescription Camoens proposed for Portugal’s ills: a return to the heroism of the past by engaging the Moors once again in battle. António Belard da Fonseca, *Dom Sebastião: Antes e Depois de Alcácer-Quibir* (Lisbon: 1978–79), 1:31–72.

60 Camoens, *Lusiads*, 40 (Canto I, verse 6).

3 Venice: Portuguese King or Calabrian Charlatan?


2 “El mal creduto Rei de Portuga...” AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677 (11 Jul 1598).

3 “empia sorte.”


5 From 1593 to 1599, Portugal was ruled by a council of five governors; these were Miguel de Castro (Archbishop of Lisbon), João da Silva (4th Count of Portalegre), Francisco Mascarenhas, Duarte Castelo Branco (Count of Sabugal), and Miguel de Moura. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Governo dos Reis Espanhóis* (1580–1640), 2nd ed., vol. 4, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: 1990), 41–2. Were the three days of mourning to match the three days elapsed between Christ’s death and his resurrection?


7 These were the Sé, (probably) the *Rua Nova do Almada*, and what is now the *Praga Dom Pedro IV*.

8 “… choryar choray pouo pello uosso bom Rey dom felipe que he morto e uos gouerno. 18. annos em pas e com m[a]Ju[s]t[a]…’’; Soares, *Memorial*, 353.


10 “Barbaria” (North Africa); “il golfo di Venezia” (the Adriatic Sea).

11 This was the report (“si era levata una publica voce”, “Ciò sulle prime aveva fatto una grande impressione”) of Francesco Soranzo, the Venetian
ambassador to Madrid; while apparently not a first-hand witness to the reaction in Portugal, that reaction was apparently strong enough to have been reported and achieved notice in Madrid. Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano.” 2.

12 Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano,” 2.
13 The Terreiro do Paço (Palace Square) was an important public gathering place in sixteenth-century Lisbon. Soares, Memorial, 353–4.
14 Unfortunately, I have found little information on the man’s immediate supporters in Venice, whether Venetian or Portuguese.
15 ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (17 Nov 1598). Also, AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 171 (25 Nov 1598). In addition to various printed sources, this chapter is based on four main archival foundations: (1) ASVen, C.X., Parti Secrete – minutes of the secret deliberations of the Venetian Council of Ten; (2) ASVen, Senato, Parti Secrete – minutes of the secret deliberations of the Venetian Senate; (3) ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi – transcripts of presentations by outsiders before the Venetian Senate; and, (4) AGS, Estado and Estado-K, the reports of the Spanish ambassador back to Madrid, the replies he received, and summaries prepared for the Spanish Consejo de Estado.
16 ASVen, C.X., Parti Secrete, filza 26 (22 Oct 1598). The Council of Ten was a group of ten men, generally charged by the doge and the ducal Council with undertaking “matters whose urgency and secrecy made seem undesirable consultation with any larger council.” In 1582–83, the Council of Ten became less involved in foreign and financial affairs (these were taken over by the Senate); it began, instead, to deal more with guarding the constitution, spying, counter-espionage, and criminal matters. Most of the material in this chapter on the structure and politics of the Venetian state was drawn from Frederic C. Lane, Venice: a Maritime Republic (Baltimore: 1973).
17 The Rettori were the Venetian officials who oversaw the local governing councils in the cities of the mainland.
18 ASVen, C.X., Parti Secrete, filza 26 (23 Oct 1598 and 24 Oct 1598). Note that many of these documents are summarized in ASVen, C.X., Parti Secrete, registro 14, fols 81–2.
19 This was essentially the council of ministers that ran Venice on a daily basis; it consisted of the Signoria (the doge, the six ducal councillors, and the three Capii dei Quarantia) and the three groups of Savii (Savii del Consiglio or Savii Grandi, Savii di Terra Ferma, and Savii ai Ordini).
20 “furante.”
21 “bestial humore.”
22 Philip II, Philip III’s father, was Sebastian’s uncle.
23 “maligna et triste machinatione.” ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (7 Nov 1598).
24 ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (7 Nov 1598).
25 This was not merely a position taken for the benefit of the Venetians; in his report of 7 November to Philip III (essentially the same as his presen-
tation to the Collegio), Mendoza wrote “que no [h]a [h]auido charlatan mas nceño ni que tan sin fundamento se [h]aya atreuido a semejante chucarrería.” AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 164v (7 Nov 1598).


27 These false Sebastians had appeared earlier in Spain and Portugal: the King of Penamacor (1584), the King of Ericeira (1585), and the Pastry-Maker of Madrigal (1594-95). All were quickly arrested and punished by the Spanish authorities. See, *inter alia*, Miguel d’Antas, *Les Faux Don Sébastiens* (Paris: 1866), books 2 and 3.

28 AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 164v, 166 (both 7 Nov 1598).

29 ASVen, C.X., Parti Secrete, filza 26 (7 Nov 1598).

30 The *Avvogadori di Comun* were in charge of all cases involving the interests of the Commune; “giusto et conueniente.”

31 ASVen, Senato, Parti Secrete, filza 69 (7 Nov 1598).

32 “qualche disturbo in Portogallo.”

33 “venne qua mezzo ignudo, et senza nessun seguito, adesso lui si trova Regiamente vestito . . ., magna et beve opulentemente et mena seco una buona compagnia di altri furfanti.” ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (17 Nov 1598).

34 “perpetua pace”; ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (17 Nov 1598).

35 The phrase “per l’amor di Dio” translates literally as “for the love of God”, but has a mild expletive connotation in Italian. ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (17 Nov 1598).

36 ASVen, Senato, Parti Secrete, filza 69 (all three 17 Nov 1598).

37 AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 174v (5 Dec 1598).

38 These were Bernardino de Santi, Pasqualino Morosini, Gerolamo Santa Giustina, Silvestro Santa Giustina, Gerolamo di Migliori, and Ruggiero di Scudi. Subsequently, Prospero Baracco and Alessandro Bonis were arrested as well. However, on 16 and 29 January 1599 the Senate ordered the release of all these men (except, apparently, Silvestro Santa Giustina – his fate is unknown). On both the arrests and the releases, see Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano,” 9; on the arrests, see also AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 172 (28 Nov 1598).

39 “facoltà di ritenere, costituire, torturare”; for the arrests and the commission, see Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano,” 8–9. The commission consisted of Bertucci Bondumier (*consigliere*), Alvise Basadonna (*Capo di quaranta*), Pietro Rimondo (*Avvogador di Comun*), and Marco Querini (*censor*).


41 Unfortunately, the Venetian documentation on the inquiry has apparently not survived. See Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano,” 9, footnote 1. See, for example, AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fol. 232–232v (20 Jul 1599).
Also known as Estêvão Caveira; see João de Castro, \textit{Discurso da vida do sempre bem vindo, et apparecido Rey Dom Sebastiam nosso senhor o Encuberto des do seu naçimêto tee o presente} (Paris: 1602), 46–46v, 56, 79; José Teixeira, \textit{Adventure Admirable, par dessus toutes autres des siecles passez & present} ([Lyon]: 1601), 69; AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (15 Nov 1599, 22 Nov 1599, and 8 Dec 1599); AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 16 (5 Feb 1600); and, Soares, \textit{Memorial}, 366.


The vicar general was the famous Fra Luis de Granada. On this incident see João Francisco Marques, \textit{A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina} (Oporto: 1986), 64, footnote 13; in the same book, the source document (III) has been transcribed, pp. 405–8, esp. 407.


AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (15 Nov 1599).

Soares, \textit{Memorial}, 366; AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (22 Nov 1599); Teixeira, \textit{Adventure Admirable}, 12, 69.

AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (15 Nov 1599 and 8 Dec 1599).

“yo quisiera… mostrar la falsedad desta Inbención falsa.”

“per Deum viuum et ordines sacros”; AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (8 Dec 1599). Note that this bit of news could have been a rumor manufactured to support the more general rumors of Sebastian’s return.

Soares, \textit{Memorial}, 366–7. However, note that I have found no evidence of such an improvement (or even change) in the prisoner’s living conditions in Venetian sources.

“vne amour fraternelle, la verité & zele de la liberté du pays”; “Le Roy Dom Sebastian nostre seigneur est prisonnier en cette ville…” Teixeira, \textit{Adventure Admirable}, 66.

Teixeira, \textit{Adventure Admirable}, 66–70. Sampaio wrote as well to other Portuguese exiles, asking them to get help from both France and England; see Castro, \textit{Discurso}, 58–9.


The Azores islands were the one Portuguese possession that steadfastly remained loyal to Dom António following his defeat at Alcântara; the Spanish finally overcame António’s forces and forced the islands into
submission in the summer of 1583. The Jesuit was Faustino de Mayorga; Marques, Parenética, 80.
59 “nescitis quis petátis Potestis, bibere calicem: quem ego bibiturus sum? Dicunt ei, possumus”; quoted in Marques, Parenética, 80–1. This text was Matthew 20:22 (or Mark 10:38–9).
60 “o que o padre não pregou nem tratou senão do Evangelho: o que todos já sabeis: e disto que tanto vos importa saber e fazer nada disse”; quoted in Marques, Parenética, 81.
61 “os Reis Magos”; quoted in Marques, Parenética, 82.
62 “lutheranos hspanhós e castelhanos”; quoted in Marques, Parenética, 84. Presumably the “Spanish Lutherans” were Protestant German soldiers.
63 “como bons christãos e subditos”; quoted in Marques, Parenética, 84.
65 This popular acclamation occurred at Santarém on 19 July 1580, the day after news of a Spanish invasion had arrived in the city (actually, the news was not quite true, for the Spanish crossed the frontier a few days later). See Serrão, Século de Ouro, 88.
66 Teixeira was actually captured by the Spanish in 1583 when they finally conquered the Azores. The friar was taken to Lisbon and jailed; however, he soon escaped and made his way to France.
68 Castro, Discurso, 49.
69 Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 3–7.
70 This was the contemporary English title: José Teixeira, The Strangest Adventure that ever happened: either in the ages passed or present. London: 1601. [STC #23864]. It would have been better translated as something like “The More Wondrous Adventure than All Others”.
71 Estêvão de Sampaio, “Oracle Divin, digne d’estre pvblié et scev par tout le monde, imprimé à Lisbone en Latin, auec permission du Sainct Office, l’an MDC,” in Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 35–49. Note that, according to the title, this was originally published in Lisbon in 1600; in addition, since it was in Latin and purported to be a simple collection of ancient documents and prophecies (unconnected to current politics), Sampaio seems to have obtained official permission to publish. Also note that this work was probably the “diuinum oraculum nunc Jure in orbem terrarum diuulgandum” described by Íñigo de Mendoza in one of his dispatches to Madrid; AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677 (23 Sep 1600).
72 Sampaio, “Oracle Divin”, 37; the account of Gideon’s victory is in Judges 6:36–8:21.
73 This vision had a typical folkloric three-part structure: first, Afonso dreamed of an old man who promised him victory and told him that he would later see Christ; second, Afonso was awakened and then visited by
the same man who elaborated upon his previous message; third (the most important part), Afonso left the Portuguese camp and saw and spoke with Christ on the cross; however, this structure is of little relevance here and, therefore, has been glossed over.

74 “…establir vn Empire en vous & en vostre posterité, afin que mon nom soit diuulgué & augmenté és plus lointaines nations.…. Ce me sera vn Royaume sanctifié, pur en la foy, & aimant pieté.”; Sampaio, “Oracle Divin,” 39.


77 “Au têps de 54. annees se leuera vn Soleil, &c. Et ce Soleil sera caché…. - Puis il viendra à triompher du monde.”; Sampaio, “Oracle Divin,” 47. This was Cyril of Constantinople who became the prior general of the Palestinian Carmelites in 1232 and died ca. 1235. However, note that he was often confused with St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Cyril of Jerusalem; also, his fame came primarily from his association with the Oraculum of St. Cyril in Joachimite writings. For Cyril’s connection to Joachim of Fiore, see Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a Study in Joachimism (Oxford: 1969), 57, passim.

78 Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 57.

79 “Un Roy occulte deux fois pieusement donné…” Sampaio, “Oracle Divin,” 47–8. St. Isidore of Seville lived from ca. 560 to 636. Coincidentally he was canonized in 1598, the year that the Calabrian Charlatan made his appearance.

80 Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 58.


82 Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 53; Sampaio, “Oracle Divin,” 43.

83 “…franche de toute domination estrangere.” Sampaio, “Oracle Divin,” 44. Some Portuguese, knowing this to be the case, strove to prove their loyalty to King Philip III. For instance, sometime during the first half of 1599 a Portuguese Capuchin preacher based in Modena – Fray Zacarias – wrote to and visited Mendoza. Earlier, this friar had received a letter from another Portuguese Capuchin in Venice, telling him of the apparent return of King Sebastian. Highly suspicious, Zacarias decided to investigate. Although not allowed to see the prisoner, the friar was satisfied with Mendoza’s arguments and evidence; in July he wrote a letter to Philip denouncing the false Sebastian. AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1676, fols 232–232v (20 Jul 1599).

85 AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 16 (5 Feb 1600). Mendoza’s knowledge of the Portuguese friar’s [Sampaio’s] correspondence with the Venetian judge [Querini] probably came from a dispatch from the Duke of Sessa in Rome which contained two intercepted letters which he had been given by a Portuguese named Mathias da Silva; one of the letters was from Sampaio to Querini; the other was a letter of introduction for Sampaio written by Thome de Sousa in Lisbon to Mathias da Silva in
Rome; see AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (27 Jan 1600 with included intercepted letters of 22 Nov 1599 and 26 Nov 1599).

This was Mathias da Silva, the Archdeacon of Neiva; see previous note.

AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (8 Dec 1599, Latin original and Spanish translation).

“para se ver a falsidade desse homem.”

AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (15 Nov 1599).

AGS, Estado, legajo 972 (19 Apr 1600).

AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 28 (8 May 1600). Note that this was actually de Vera’s reappointment to the position of ambassador in Venice – de Vera was also Mendoza’s predecessor.

AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, docs 74 and 79 (16 Nov 1600 and Dec 1600).

“una Inuencion tan dañosa y de mal exemplo’’; AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 79 (Dec 1600).

Vera later advised Philip not to punish Nuno da Costa, for the Portuguese merchant had occasionally supplied the Spanish ambassador with vital information in the matter of the Calabrian Charlatan. AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 101 (3 Mar 1601).

“castigado severamente’’; AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 82 (9 Dec 1600).

AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 82 (9 Dec 1600).

“exemplar justitia.”

ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 11 (11 Dec 1600); see also Toderini, “Finto Don Sebastiano,” 9–12.

ASVen, Senato, Parti Secrete, filza 71 (15 Dec 1600).

4 Lisbon: Rumor and simmering discontent

1 “Viva, Viva a Patria, & os coraçôens generosos della, que nenhûa outra cousa respeitarem que seu Deos, seu Rey & sua honra: deixando a seus descendêtes o que lhes deixaram seus antepassados.” João de Castro, Discurso da vida do sempre bem vindo, et apparecido Rey Dom Sebastiam nosso senhor o Encuberto des do seu naçimênto tee o presente (Paris: 1602), 129v.

2 For more on the political environment in Spanish Portugal at this time, see Antônio de Oliveira, Poder e Oposição Política em Portugal no Periodo Filipino (1580–1640) (Lisbon: 1990).

3 Cristóvão de Moura, first Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, lived 1538–1613 and was the Spanish viceroy in Portugal in 1600–03 and again in 1608–12. For more details on Moura’s life, see Alfonso Danvila y Burguero, Don Cristóbal de Moura: Primer Marqués de Castel Rodrigo (1538–1613) (Madrid: 1900).
4 St. George's Castle, in spite of its ruined condition, still dominates the city of Lisbon from its hill-top position. It was originally built by the Visigoths in the fifth century to protect the natural harbor. In Moura’s time it was the castle from which Spanish troops protected and controlled Lisbon and the surrounding area.

5 Even today travelers who come to Lisbon from the south by train arrive at the riverside Terreiro do Paço (the Palace Square) after crossing the Tagus on the ferry. Unfortunately little remains of what the viceroy saw since the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755 leveled the palace and much of the surrounding city; see T.D. Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake* (Philadelphia: 1955). Today the square is known as the Praça do Comércio.


8 AHN, Estado, libro 77, folios 1v, 3 (17 Jun [1600] and [20 Sep 1600]). AHN, Estado, libros 76 and 77 form the major archival foundation of this chapter. The relevant documents in both of these books consist primarily of Moura’s regular reports to the king and the *Consejo de Estado*; in some cases the replies Moura received are included as well.

9 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 9 (23 Oct [1600]).


11 On this topic see Julia Montenegro, “Prólogo,” in *Castilla y Portugal en los albores de la edad moderna* (Valladolid: 1997). Montenegro argues that, during the medieval period, the political and cultural borders between Portugal and Castile were rather fluid, in fact “ambas potencias eran parte de una misma realidad y con unas similares, o muy parecidas, circunstancias”; for instance, large numbers of Portuguese students flooded into the University of Salamanca and matrimonial ties between Portuguese and Castilian nobles were common; “Prólogo,” 7. For the early modern period the same situation existed.


13 It was only two years later, in January of 1556, that Philip would be King Philip II although he had helped in the rule of his father’s kingdoms, particularly Spain, since early 1551; see Geoffrey Parker, “Apprenticeship, 1527–1558,” in *Philip II*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: 1995).
For the effect of this in Portugal, see António Belard da Fonseca, *Dom Sebastião: Antes e Depois de Alcácer-Quibir* (Lisbon: 1978–79), I:27.

“Si Dios se hubiera propuesto reunir bajo el mismo techo a dos criaturas diametralmente opuestas, lo consiguiera en el Monasterio de Guadalupe, pues nunca se vieron caracteres tan dispares como el de Don Sebastián y Felipe II, nacidos para no ponerse nunca de acuerdo, ni ceder el uno a la voluntad del otro.” Alfonso Danvila and Burguero, *Felipe II y el Rey Don Sebastián de Portugal* (Madrid: 1954), 315.


From its very inception (1583), Moura had been on the *Consejo de Portugal*, a position he held till his appointment as viceroy in 1600. Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, “Los Funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal: 1580–1640,” *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* 12 (1989): 197–228; see tables of members on pp. 224–8.

“...andaua ruydo en el pueblo có nueuas de aquel calabres que es preso en venecya, tenyendo el vulgo por cyerto que este preso es el Rei dô Sebastyan, como el lo dyz.” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 1 (17 Jun [1600]).

AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 1v, 10v, 12v (17 Jun [1600], 23 Oct [1600], and 1 Nov 1600).

AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 12 (1 Nov 1600).

AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 9v (23 Oct [1600]).

“religiosos muy graues,” “caualleros principales y que parecen cuerdos.” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 3 ([20 Sep 1600]).

These are AHN, Estado, libro 77, fols 22–130v; they would have covered, approximately, the period from the end of June 1601 to the end of July 1603. AHN, Estado, libro 77 is a bound volume of the collected correspondence between Moura and the *Consejo de Estado*. At some point, someone physically ripped the missing folios from the book. At least one Portuguese historian attributes this (and many other missing documents) to a subsequent Spanish conspiracy to conceal the truth that the supposed impostor was in fact King Sebastian; see António Belard da Fonseca, *Dom Sebastião: Antes e Depois de Alcácer-Quibir*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1978–79), II: 89–129.

Note that the *religiosos* included only the regular clergy (those bound by a monastic rule [*regula*]), not the secular clergy (those not bound by monastic vows).

AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 9 (23 Oct [1600]).

“cô la gente tienen poco credito,” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 10v (23 Oct [1600]).

“concorria mucha gente y se ablaua con mas publicidad.” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 10 (23 Oct [1600]).

AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 10 (23 Oct [1600]).

Moura never named the third nobleman – perhaps he was detained because of the fight, but was never implicated in the matter of spreading the rumors.
31 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fols 11–11v (23 Oct [1600]).
34 AHN, Estado, libro 76, fol. 477 (19 Dec 1600).
35 On this this extensive topic, see João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina* (Oporto: 1986).
37 “...andando ia dezembusada nesta cidade quando entrou o Vizo Rey dom cristouão Marques de castel Rodrigo...,” Soares, *Memorial*, 375.
38 “Entrada do Marques,” fol. 165.
40 It was not so different in Protestant Europe where – instead of intermediaries between man and God – there were pastors, ministers, and teachers who helped guide their followers to the correct interpretation.
41 Perhaps much of the preachers’ animosity was fed by the eagerness with which the Spanish tried to impose the reforms called for by the Council of Trent. As Sara Nalle notes of the Spanish city of Cuenca in the last half of the sixteenth century, most of the lower clergy opposed the reforms since they centralized ecclesiastical power in the hands of the bishop and forced priests to forgo much of what they considered to be the perquisites of office (e.g., concubinage, reaping tithes without providing any service); *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore: 1992), 45–56.
42 Soares, *Memorial*, 375. This connection is all the more notable when one considers that Saint Sebastian (King Sebastian’s namesake) was one of the saints charged with protecting people from the plague; with Sebastian gone, the community was left defenseless. For an example of St. Sebastian’s importance in Spain in this period, see Nalle, *God in La Mancha*, 155–6, 176.
43 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 3 ([20 Sept 1600]).
44 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 4 ([20 Sept 1600]).
45 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 4 ([20 Sep 1600]).
46 “El pueblo” is Spanish for the Portuguese “o povo”, meaning the people, the nation. “Esta gente” translates as this people or these people. Although he was technically supposed to do all of Portugal’s business in Portuguese, Moura generally wrote his reports to Philip III in Castilian (Spanish).
47 “ha sido la platica tan general, que chicos y grandes an entrado en ella,” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 9v (23 Oct [1600]).
48 Yves-Marie Bercé, *History of Peasant Revolts* (Ithaca, New York: 1990), 323–6. See also Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. Since, in Hirschman’s terminology, the third estate had no voice or an extremely weak voice, they had little hope of changing the government or its burdens from within the system; to amplify their voice they therefore turned to forms of protest which threatened the existence of the system itself.


52 “gente en esta ciudad y fuera della, se dauan dineros a quien los tomaua, con tal condición que hauian de boluer otro tanto mas quando veniesse el mecia,” AHN, *Estado*, libro 77, fol. 9v (23 Oct [1600]); see also BNM, Mss. 2347, “Sucesso del Calabres que fingió El Rey Don Sebastian,” fol. 13.

53 “que Vendria aquella persona [the man in Venice], y que esto seria muy breuemête,” AHN, *Estado*, libro 77, fol. 9v (23 Oct [1600]).


55 Benzion Netanyahu has argued in *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: 1995) and his earlier works that, by about 1500, the majority of the New Christian community in Spain had genuinely become Christian and that the activities of the Inquisition were not meant to root out heretical beliefs, that the crime of “judaizing” was merely an excuse to act (see pp. xiii–xxii). In Portugal, in the first half of the sixteenth-century at least, the situation was different, for expelled Spanish Jews formed approximately half of the Portuguese New Christian population – the very people who had held most firmly onto their Judaism. Therefore it is hard to believe, whatever the situation in Spain, that the majority of the New Christians in Portugal were trying at this time to assimilate to Christianity. Nevertheless, Netanyahu’s arguments about the racial, non-religious roots of the persecution may remain intact even in the case of Portugal.

56 From 1593 to Moura’s arrival in early 1600, Portugal was ruled by a council of five governors.


60 This suspicion continues to this day although in a more scholarly vein. In *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (New York: 1971), Yosef Yerushalmi speculates about the possible connections between Portuguese Sebastianism and Jewish Sabbatianism, basing this on the involvement of the Portuguese Marrano communities in the Ottoman Empire with Sabbatianism (306–13). However, in the case of the Calabrian Charlatan, no known documents from the Western Sephardic communities mention the man or his claims (Yosef Kaplan, personal communication, 1996).

61 “yo estoy much sospechoso de que todas estas cosas son fingidas y echadas por christia Venezianos,” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 3v ([20 Sep 1600]; apparently a draft copy).

62 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 19 (26 May 1601).

63 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 12v (1 Nov 1600).

64 Soares, *Memorial*, 371. In this source he was called “capitão Febos” and was most likely the same person with whom Moura dealt. He was identified as a Venetian artillery captain who had accompanied Sebastian to Ksar-el-Kebir; thus he was someone who knew Sebastian and should have been able to identify him correctly. Soares also names him as the person who first brought to Lisbon the news of Sebastian’s imprisonment in Venice. The *Memorial* refers to the captain’s second arrest, but it is impossible to tell whether this was before, after, or the same as Moura’s apprehension.

65 Unfortunately, we do not know the ultimate fate of *El Febo*.

66 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fols 12–12v (1 Nov 1600).

67 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 15 (7 Feb 1601).

68 “an buelto a resucitar.” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 19 (26 May 1601).

69 “...y vienen a saber de my lo que siento destas cosas. y si hago caso delas, y quanto mas burlo y tengo en poco lo que me dizan tanto buelven mas sospechosos entendiendo q es enuençion lo que hago.” AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 19v (26 May 1601).

70 The Hospital de Todos-os-Santos was located on the east side of the Rossio Plaza, one of the two major plazas in Lisbon at the time (the other being the Terreiro do Paço). See Fernando Castelo-Branco, *Lisboa Seiscentista*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: 1957), 46–7, 49; see especially the plate between pp. 46 and 47 showing the façade of the Hospital with the stairs leading up to it.

71 Fortunately for the rest of Lisbon there was no wind and so the fire did not spread beyond the Hospital.


74 1 November.

75 In 1594, Father Cardoso had been prohibited from preaching at the Royal Chapel and banned from Lisbon by his provincial for his anti-Castilian sermons; apparently, sometime in the intervening seven years, he had been allowed to return to the Portuguese capital but had lost none of his anti-Castilian sentiments. See Marques, *Parenética*, 106; Soares, *Memorial*, 390.
5 Venice to Leghorn: Sanctifying the king


3 Castro, Discorso, 89v; Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 99.

4 The story of Martin Guerre seems to have been widely known in early modern Europe: “…dient que ce n'est pas le premier affronteur. qu’en Flandre y a eu un Baudoin, en France un Martin Guerre, &c.”; Teixeira, Adventure Admirable, 109. On Martin Guerre, see Natalie Zemon Davis, The Return of Martin Guerre (Cambridge, MA: 1983).

5 Castro claims that Sebastian informed his Venetian judges, just before they released him, that someday they would regret their actions (Castro, Discorso, 89v); Teixeira’s account, which was written first, does not mention this.

6 Because the various names (i.e., King Sebastian, Marco Tulio Catizone, the Calabrian Charlatan) used by contemporaries to refer to the Venetians’ ex-prisoner depended more on their political partisanship than reality, it is difficult to settle on any one name. So, since this chapter centers on the purported Portuguese king and his supporters, we will defer to them in this chapter by referring to the ex-prisoner as Sebastian.

7 “…em lhe [Diogo Botelho] desterrar deste Reyno, e mandar pera o de Castella sua molher, filhos, tya, enteado e suas Irmanas religiosas e velhas, e tomado toda sua fazenda, e dada a quem quis, ate lhe morrer sua molher en Castella desterrada.” Diogo Botelho and Ciprião de Figueiredo Vasconcelos, Reposta que os tres Estados do Reyno de Portugal a.s. Nobreza, Clerezia, e Povo, mandaraõ a Dom Ioam de Castro, sobre hun Discorso que lhes dirijo, sobre a vinda e apparecimento del Rey Dom Sebastiam (Paris: 1603), 118.

8 For more on the details of Dom António’s resistance to the Spanish invasion and attempts to hold the Azores, see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, Governo dos Reis Espanhóis (1580–1640), 2nd ed., vol. 4, História de Portugal (Lisbon: 1990), 19–32.

9 Filippo Strozzi was a Florentine relative of Catherine de’ Medici.


11 Peniche is a Portuguese coastal city about 75 km north of Lisbon. Apparently Norris landed there in the mistaken expectation that this part of the coast would be less well defended than areas nearer to Lisbon. For a view of this invasion from the English point of view, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Drake’s Voyages: a Re-Assessment of their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (London: 1967); and, R. B. Wernham, “Introduction,” in *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589*, ed. R. B. Wernham (1988).

12 These fears were not unreasonable. For instance, in late 1587 one of Dom António’s supporters was arrested in Lisbon as he was embarking for France. He was carrying two small caskets: one contained his travel funds and money for the Portuguese rebels, the other contained a letter of credit for António as well as letters from various merchants (and possibly high ranking nobles). These letters informed António that the Spanish Armada was about to depart and that following its departure would be the perfect time to arrive in Portugal at the head of an army; the letters assured him that the whole kingdom would rise in revolt. In his panic while being arrested, António’s supporter threw one of the caskets into the ocean. Unfortunately he chose the wrong one: instead of ridding himself of the incriminating evidence, he jettisoned his funds. (CSP Venetian, viii, docs 614, 616, 621). This event was not isolated. The Venetians noted similar anti-Spanish activities following António’s escape from Portugal in 1581 through to 1589, just prior to Drake’s arrival (see, *inter alia*, CSP Venetian, viii, docs 81, 257, 327, 428, 673, 828).

13 CSP Venetian, viii, doc. 811.

14 CSP Venetian, viii, doc. 849.

15 Was this because Dom António’s movement held no real promise for the Portuguese people? After all, were he to have replaced Philip as ruler of Portugal, for most people little would have changed. António simply did not fulfill any millenarian expectations. In contrast, the English actively supported the Dutch rebellion. Unlike António, the leaders of the Dutch rebels proved capable of raising large segments of the Dutch population to fight the Spanish and for years forced Philip to spend immense quantities of his American treasure in trying to reestablish his control. See MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, 249–98; Geoffrey Parker, *Dutch Revolt*.

16 It seems that only with the events of 1598 was Castro able to convince at least some of his fellow rebels of his arguments and that the return of King Sebastian would bring them the popular support they needed.

17 Botelho and Figueiredo, *Reposta*, 152.

18 For this section of Sebastian’s story and the internal conflicts between his supporters there are three basic sources. Each was a work of propaganda, destined for a particular audience; however, they were not the result of a coordinated rebel effort. [*Note continues . . . .]*
The first was Father José Teixeira’s *Adventure Admirable*, published in Lyon in 1601. This book represented mainstream of thought among Dom António’s old supporters. They hoped to revitalize the old movement, using the appearance of Sebastian – and the popular reaction to him in Portugal – as a means of renewing and strengthening French and English support. For this reason Teixeira wrote in French and addressed his work to King Henri IV (p. 3). To capture the English audience, the French edition was followed that same year by an English translation (*The Strangest Adventure that Ever Happened*) published in London. In form the book was a discussion of a collection of letters, prophecies, and documents that showed that the man in Venice was the real King Sebastian. Originally, Teixeira probably hoped that his work would encourage the French and the English to apply diplomatic pressure on the Venetians in order to get them to release their prisoner. Then, just before the book was to be published, Father Teixeira received the miraculous news that Sebastian had been freed. This did not stop him from publishing, for this event lent added importance to establishing the prisoner’s identity as the long-lost King Sebastian. The issue at hand had shifted from obtaining Sebastian’s release from prison, to obtaining Portugal’s release from Spain.

The second work, published a year later in 1602, was João de Castro’s *Discourse on the life of the King Don Sebastian of Portugal* (*Discurso da vida de El Rey Dom Sebastiam de Portugal*). Although Castro had long been one of Dom António’s supporters, by the time this book was published he had broken with his compatriots. With the many failures and disappointments of the previous twenty years, as well as the turn of events following Sebastian’s release from prison, he had given up on the other Portuguese exiles and their plans. He even dedicated one chapter to denouncing the actions of some of the major figures among the exiles after Dom António’s death. For instance, he claimed that soon after the Prior of Crato’s death in 1595 Diogo Botelho, António’s two sons, and others had abandoned Portugal to its fate and started negotiating with the Spanish in the hope of reaching an accommodation with the foreign regime (this was chapter XIV; fols 48v–53). Thus he questioned their dedication to Portuguese independence, essentially accusing them of fighting merely for personal gain. Still, this was only a peripheral issue, for, like Teixeira, Castro’s main goal was to show that the man in Venice was in fact King Sebastian. Although the two propagandists may have had the same basic goal, their purposes were different. Castro wrote to a completely different audience: he wrote in Portuguese and addressed his work “to the three Estates of the Kingdom of Portugal” (fol. 1). Drawing on the same prophecies and other texts that Father Teixeira had used to establish the identity of the man in Venice, Castro came to the same basic conclusion but took it one step further. Instead of calling on earthly princes for help, Castro called on the Portuguese people – of all estates – to believe in the return of Sebastian and to accept that this was part of a divinely ordained plan (fols 43–48). João de Castro prophesied that, if the Portuguese
heeded his call to belief and repentance, the sacred independence of Portugal would inevitably be restored.

The final work was Diogo Botelho’s and Ciprião de Figueiredo’s *Response that the Three Estates of the Kingdom of Portugal sent to Dom João de Castro, concerning a Discourse he wrote to them, about the coming and appearance of the King Don Sebastian (Reposta que os tres Estados do Reino de Portugal mandarão a Dom Ioam de Castro, sobre hun Discurso que lhes dirigio, sobre a vinda e aparecimento du Rey Dom Sebastiam).* Published in 1603, this work – as its title states – was a response to Castro’s book and was directed at the same audience. In it Botelho and Figueiredo defended themselves, Dom Cristóvão, Dom Manuel, and other of António’s supporters from Castro’s attacks on their patriotism. Although they disagreed with Castro about their role and motivations in the struggle for Portuguese independence, they fully agreed with him about the central fact that King Sebastian had indeed returned. The argument with Castro was essentially over which group – Castro or his former compatriots – had persevered in the struggle for Portuguese independence. By abandoning Dom António’s heirs, Botelho and Figueiredo claimed, Castro had weakened the Portuguese cause, causing fissures which the Spanish had eagerly and successfully exploited.


20 Teixeira, *Adventure Admirable*, 100; Castro, *Discurso*, 90.

21 As shown in chapter 3, at least leaders and major figures of this particular group of Portuguese rebels knew that they were not meeting with the real Sebastian (see p. 62).

22 “…lancouse aos seus pes reconhecendo ho pello seu verdadeiro Rey & senhor.” Castro, *Discurso*, 90v. Teixeira neglects to mention this incident in his account and instead portrays Sebastian’s recognition by the various people present as having been more dignified, with Castro’s actions no different from those of his companions.

23 “Portugaiç vous avez faict un tres grand bien à vostre patrie, & signalé seruice a moy qui suis vostre Roy & seigneur; vous estes mes vassaus & subiets. Puisque vous avez faict ce que debuiez à Dieu & à vostre obliga­tion, ie n’en seray point ingrat. Je suis vostre Pere, & vous estes mes enfans.” Teixeira, *Adventure Admirable*, 100.


26 “Mostrou a ferida da cabeça que recebera em Africa: tomado as maõs a algũns & fazendoa apalpar. Mostrou o dente quixal menos: mostrou as pernas, os bracos, ate se assentar de goelhos metendo hũa chinella de baxo dũ delles pera mostrar como era mais curto de hũa parte.” Castro, *Discurso*, 91v. Teixeira gives a parallel, but less detailed, account; Teixeira, *Adventure Admirable*, 102–3.

28 The Holy Day of the Finding of the Cross is 3 May; this feast celebrated the fourth- or fifth-century tradition concerning the discovery of the true cross in Jerusalem by St. Helena (the Emperor Constantine's mother). The Mother Priess was María de la Visitación.

29 This was the day of the week and the hour in which Jesus was crucified and wounded in his side.

30 Fray Luis de Granada (1504–88) was a Spanish mystic and author of various books on faith and mysticism. Since he was well known and living in Lisbon, he was probably brought in by the Priess's superiors as an expert on mysticism qualified to make a judgement in her case. See Melquíades Andrés, Historia de la Mística de la Edad de Oro en España y América (Madrid: 1994): 302–5.


32 The Carmelite Fray Juan de la Cruz (1542–91) was Fray Luis de Granada's "friend and collaborator," as well as a mystic in his own right; see Andrés, Mística, 303. Note that the friar's name is given as "Juan de la Curryas" in the news-letter; "The Nun of Lisbon," Fugger News-Letters, 114.


37 Note that the Priess's claims were eventually proven fraudulent; John A. Moore, Fray Luis de Granada (Boston: 1977), 37, 124–5.

38 Protestantism was most likely the "evil [that] reigneth."

39 E. W. Bovill, The Battle of Alcazar: an Account of the Defeat of Don Sebastian of Portugal at El-Ksar el-Kebir (London: 1952), 155–6. Castro's account of Sebastian's escape (Discurso, 59v–67) does not explicitly state this detail; however, it is clear that he was expanding on this rumor.

40 The Algarve is the southernmost region of Portugal. They probably would have disembarked at Lagos, the major port there.

41 "Vio toda Europa : muy grande parte da Asia : & algúia de Africa : estando no Preste Ioaö, & noutros reynos pelo interior della." Castro, Discurso, 61. At this point Castro dropped any mention of Sebastian's companions; perhaps they perished in battle.

The myth of Prester John was of a great Christian empire beyond Muslim territory; the hope was that by finding this ruler and his empire the European Christians would find an ally with whom they could at last decisively defeat Islam. This part of Castro's story is particularly notable since, by finding and visiting Prester John's kingdom, Sebastian had accomplished a feat that had eluded the Portuguese for centuries. In addition, this event meant that Sebastian was once again guiding Portugu-al back to God's plan of using Portugal for the expansion of Christen-dom. See Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415–1580 (Minneapolis: 1977), 36.

42 Castro, Discurso, 60–64v.

43 Castro, Discurso, 66v.
6 Florence, Naples, and Sanlúcar: Descent into Purgatory


2 For a particularly graphic example of an early modern state, a salutary tale, and innocents caught in the middle, see Michael Kunze, *Highroad to the Stake: a Tale of Witchcraft* (Chicago: 1987).


4 AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 82 (9 Dec 1600).

5 De Vera’s informant was Nuno da Costa. AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 101 (3 Mar 1601), doc. 90 (6 Jan 1601).


7 This was confirmed much later by the Calabrian Charlatan himself. He stated that, in order to save money after two nights in a Florentine inn, Fra Crisóstomo had arranged for them to stay in a monastery; they planned to wait there for the arrival of the other Portuguese rebels. Unfortunately, Crisóstomo introduced his companion as King Sebastian
of Portugal and thus they came to the attention of a Spanish friar who subsequently turned them in. AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relacion de lo que Marco Tulio Carçon declaro en el tormento sobre la inuençion de aber usurpado nombre del Sr Rey don Sebastian.”

8 While a lack of evidence to the contrary hardly proves the point, it seems significant that the surviving reports from Francisco de Vera never mentioned Fray Crisóstomo as a source of help in the matter; in contrast, de Vera does specifically mention his informant Nuno da Costa and requests, in effect, a pardon as reward for the information de Costa occasionally passed to the ambassador. AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 101 (3 Mar 1601).

9 Castro, Discurso, 103–8.

10 After discovering that Ferdinando refused to meet with them, the Portuguese conspirators left Florence and headed north to seek French, English, Dutch, and even German help; Castro, Discurso, 116–18; AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677, doc. 93 (20 Jan 1601).

11 “...protezione di questa casa, stato, et figli.” AGS, Estado, legajo 1453 (4 Mar 1600 [1601 N.S.]); see also letters of 6 May 1601.

12 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 108 (22 Mar 1601). AGS, Estado, legajos 1097–8 form the main archival foundation for the Charlatan’s trial in Naples. However, note that the documents in these legajos do not consist of the original trial transcripts; instead they are the viceroy's summarized reports back to Madrid (all written in Castilian). Note also, however, that it is clear from his report that the viceroy was present at most of the proceedings and not working second-hand.

13 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 121 (8 May 1601).


15 Castro apparently thought De Cruz was a Sephardic Jew.

16 These delays were claimed in a later interrogation to have consisted of six years in a Persian prison; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 119 (10 May 1601).

17 The man would remain in Spanish custody until May 1602 by which time, in spite of torture, nothing had been found with which to charge him. AGS, Estado, legajo 1098, doc. 64 (10 May 1602).

18 That would have been about 1594. With this fact in hand, the viceroy must have wondered why de Cruz had not delivered the dispatch from 1593 as well.

19 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 118 (8 May 1601). For more on the Armenian, see also AGS Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 119 (10 May 1601), doc. 120 (6 May 1601), doc. 162 (4 Aug 1601), doc. 207 (21 Dec 1601), and doc. 208 (21 Dec 1601).
20 This interview took place sometime during the week between 1 and 8 May 1601.
21 “un insensato sin entendimiento ninguno”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 121 (8 May 1601).
22 “una persona docta”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 121 (8 May 1601).
23 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 121 (8 May 1601).
24 Why Lemos chose these two towns as his starting points is not apparent from the records. AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 121 (8 May 1601).
25 This was Julio Francisco de Ponte, the Marquis of Moricón.
26 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
27 In some documents Catizone was referred to as Carzon or simply Marco Tulio. Magisano (or Machisano as rendered in the viceroy’s report) is just to the east of Taverna, in the mountains of the modern province of Catanzaro, in the region of Calabria.
28 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
29 Lemos gives her name as “Cortes”; it is not clear if this should have been an Italian “Cortesi” or if Catizone’s mother was indeed Spanish.
30 “que era el Rey, ó el Diablo en su figura”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
31 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
32 The Spanish ambassador in Venice at this time was Francisco de Vera y Aragón; see chapter 5.
33 The viceroy also planned to print an account of the investigation that could be disseminated throughout Europe. If this was done, the account seems not to have survived.
34 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
35 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 126 (6 Jun 1601). The two letters (AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, docs 127–8) are included with Lemos’s report. Unlike his reports, the letters are both written in Italian, in someone else’s writing, and on different paper.
36 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 127 (5 Sep 1598).
37 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 128 (5 Sep 1598).
38 In reading the Spanish documents relating to the matter of the Calabrian Charlatan, there is the sense that the Spanish were interested in discovering who was behind the impostor, not simply in exposing and convicting him. In fact, for the Spanish the whole exercise was almost pointless if they could not also identify and round up the Portuguese conspirators who were the real source of trouble.
39 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, docs 124 (10 May 1601), 127 (5 Sep 1598), 128 (5 Sep 1598).
40 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, docs 124 (10 May 1601), 127 (5 Sep 1598), 128 (5 Sep 1598); AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677 (11 Jul 1598).
41 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 124 (10 May 1601).
42 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 152 (17 Jul 1601). Note that this account is drawn from Lemos’s description (in Castilian) of the encounter in his report to Philip, not a transcript of legal proceedings.
43 “i la suegra le dixo mil cosas”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 152 (17 Jul 1601).
44 “gran vellaco embusterio”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 152 (17 Jul 1601).
45 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, doc. 152 (17 Jul 1601).
46 By this time the viceroy had changed: the Count of Lemos died in the fall of 1601 and his son, Francisco de Castro, had taken his place as regent (1601–03) and wrote the reports to the king. See AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, docs 194 (8 Nov 1601), 207 (21 Dec 1601).
47 “locura ignorancia”; AGS, Estado, legajo 1098, doc. 66 (10 May 1602).
48 AGS, Estado, legajo 1098, docs 10 (15 Jan 1602), 66 (10 May 1602).
49 AGS, Estado, legajo 1098, doc. 66 (10 May 1602).
50 AGS, Estado, legajo 193, dated 29 Jun 1603.
51 AGS, Estado, legajo 193 and legajo 197. With these two legajos (the documentary foundation for events at Sanlúcar de Barrameda), we are dealing with the trial transcripts themselves and not just summarized reports.
52 This part of the trial – the Spanish legal formalities begun after most of the facts in the case were already well established – goes beyond the scope of this work.
53 El Puerto de Santa María is the Spanish port a few kilometers from Sanlúcar de Barrameda where Catizone was briefly held prior to his transfer to Sanlúcar.
54 AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relação de lo que Marco Tulio Carçön declaro…”
55 AGS, Estado, legajo 193, dated 29 Jun 1603; AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relação de lo que Marco Tulio Carçön declaro…”
56 AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relação de lo que Marco Tulio Carçön declaro…”
57 AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relação de lo que Marco Tulio Carçön declaro…”
58 AGS, Estado, legajo 1097, docs 127 (5 Sep 1598), 128 (5 Sep 1598).
59 “phebo”; AGS, Estado, legajo 197, “Relação de lo que Marco Tulio Carçön declaro…”
60 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 12v (1 Nov 1600); Pedro Rodrigues Soares, Memorial de Pero Roiz Soares, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Coimbra: 1953), 371. I only have references to Captain Febo in the three sources presented here; they, unfortunately, give us no more information.
62 Recall that the Spanish apparently first noticed – but ignored – the Calabrian Charlatan in early July 1598; AGS, Estado-K, legajo 1677 (11 Jul 1598).
63 “…por toda a minha industria e vida em espiritando Portugal por alguns me[i]os, abrindolhe os olhos…” BNL, Codex 4389, “Discurso Falamando com El Rey D. Sebastiã” (Paris: 1588), 4.
Recall Castro’s patriotic appeal to his readers to “take a Portuguese resolution with a Portuguese King”; Castro, *Discurso*, fols 130–130v.

The source of resistance was probably António’s desire to be the King of Portugal: if Sebastian returned, António’s hopes to sit on the Portuguese throne would be thwarted.

It is impossible to tell exactly what the conspirators were aiming for. Did they want an oath to Sebastian? Did they want a period of delay and confusion in which they could introduce one of Dom António’s sons (as regent for Sebastian, of course)?

Prophecy is not random and bereft of all reason; it follows its own, internal logic. If one accepts – on faith – the initial prophetic assumptions, then much of the rest of a body of doctrine follows quite logically for the believer.

Even if we were to suppose that chance dictated the location through the fortuitous appearance of Catizone, we still have to ask the question: “Why Venice?”. After all, after recruiting Catizone to play his part, the conspirators could very well have spirited him off to Paris, London, or Lisbon to launch his claims long before the Spanish even became aware of the man. If we accept a conspiracy, we have to ask why Venice was considered the right place.

**Conclusion**

2. AGS, Estado, legajo 193 (23 Sep 1603). Although this took care of many of those involved, several loose ends remained; one of these was a Portuguese friar named António Tavares to whom, over the next year, the Spanish devoted a great deal of effort to track down and capture; see, *inter alia*, AGS, Estado, legajo 198.
3. “El dicho Marco Tulio Calabres fue arastrado cortada la mano derecha y hahorcadó y hecho quartos puestos por los caminos y su cauesa [cabeza] puesta en lugar publico y lo mismo la mano derecha”; AGS, Estado, legajo 193 (23 Sep 1603).
4. Note that order was the important factor here; justice – in the modern sense of sorting out right from wrong, innocent from guilty – was secondary and often left to God.
5. ASVen, Collegio, Exposizioni Principi, filza 10 (7 Nov 1598).
Epilogue

1 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fol. 135v (16 Aug 1603).
3 AHN, Estado, libro 77, fols 135–136v (16 Aug 1603).
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